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PAULING PROPOSES Research for peace

From GENE SHARP

DR. LINUS PAULING said in Oslo on September 30 that in event of a major nuclear war it was conceivable that all human life would be destroyed. "What are the problems in the world that require the use of this method to solve them?" he asked. "The time has come for problems to be solved in a different way."

Dr. Pauling was speaking at a public meeting held at the University of Oslo under the joint sponsorship of the Norwegian Students Association and the liberal newspaper Dagbladet. He had no difficulties in entering Norway.

During much of the 50 years he had been trying to understand the world he had had much difficulty in understanding the contradictions between statements by religious leaders (such as prohibitions against killing) and statements by government leaders (such as urging support for war).

He had finally decided to put his trust in his own intellect. It is, he said, time to apply the ethics we recognise for relations between individuals into the inter-



Plans for End-the-tests-for-ever week NIGHT MARCH TO LONDON AIRPORT TORCHLIGHT PROCESSION

PLANS for an "End-the-tests-for-ever" week are being made in London by Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Groups in an effort to ensure a successful outcome to the forthcoming Geneva talks.

It is hoped that the programme will develop into a nation-wide campaign culminating in a torchlight march from Trafalgar Square at midnight on Friday, Oct. 31 to London Airport. A deputation of women will fly from the airport to Geneva to impress on the conference the determination of the British people to see an end to nuclear testing.

The "End-the-tests-for-ever" week will open on Oct. 23 with the reassembly of Parliament and the beginning of a week-long Vigil by Women in Black. The vigil may also be extended to cover the Soviet and American Embassies.

Lobbying of MPs, letter-writing and the sending of deputations will go on during the week. Local groups will be urged to organise marches, special church services, the sending of telegrams and other activities, seeking the co-operation of the Liberal Party and of organisations and institutions which have already come out in support of the stopping of tests.

The torchlight procession will be along the first 12 miles of the Aldermaston March which passed London Airport on the second day.

The Hornsey, Hampstead, Highgate and Barnet Campaign Committees, which have taken the initiative in this matter have the full support of the Campaign Headquarters and will be announcing further details this week.

SCARBOROUGH DIARY

By Alan Lovell

Peace News Reporter at the Labour Party Conference

SUNDAY: The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament have arranged a march through Scarborough. When we get to the starting point, there are nearly 800 people there already. The March fills the Scarborough streets. The local people stand in their doorways and watch. We are frustrated since we can't give them any leaflets because of some bye-law.

On the road near the beach some boys, who are strolling aimlessly along, call out "Haven't you got something better to do than walk around?" "At least we're going somewhere," we reply.

Evening: The CND meeting in the Olympia ballroom. Canon Collins, A. J. P. Taylor, Benn Levy, J. B. Priestley and John Horner are the speakers. The bookstall that Houseman's have arranged does very well

more enquiries about membership than it has ever had before at its Conference meeting.

Tuesday: I go to a Press Conference at the hotel where all the important people in the Labour Party are staying. If the LPF meeting had given me an idea of the early Labour movement this gave me

One group has already guaranteed the money for one seat on the plane.

Enquiries may be addressed to Mrs. D. Barasi, 45 Twyford Ave., N.2.

IN THIS ISSUE . . .

DAILY TELEGRAPH wins Peace News award. See "Word-twisting."—Page four.

ALEX COMFORT: "Who has the H-perm?"—Page five.

FENNER BROCKWAY on Bevan.—Page five.

MURDER IN CYPRUS.—Pages four and eight.

NEXT WEEK . . .

"Reconciliation in Ireland" a special Peace News Enquiry.

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During much of the 50 years he had been trying to understand the world he had had much difficulty in understanding the contradictions between statements by religious leaders (such as prohibitions against killing) and statements by government leaders (such as urging support for war).

He had finally decided to put his trust in his own intellect. It is, he said, time to apply the ethics we recognise for relations between individuals into the international sphere.

We are, he continued, living in a "unique epoch" between "the past of wars and the future of no more war." The people of the world were "never in such danger as now. But I think we can work together and survive it and eliminate war from the world." More and more force used "will be that of moral pressure rather than physical force."

He called the idea of "limited wars"—"no sense whatever." "The only solution is to give up war and solve problems in a different way."

A number of "effective international agreements" were needed to cut down the chance of war. These included agreements on the stopping of nuclear tests, manufacture of nuclear weapons, measures to cut down the chances of accidental break out of war.

Millions spent on war

"Why spend \$100,000,000,000 a year on weapons that are not going to be used?" he asked, proposing a series of agreements to cut down military expenditures, say by 10 per cent each time, in a way that no relative military advantage would accrue to either side.

His main solution, however, lay in using the method that is "used to solve problems in the modern world"—that or research. The topic of his talk was "A proposal for Research for Peace."

"Thousands of millions of dollars are spent on research for war and practically no one carries out research for peace," he said. He proposed a large research agency associated with the UN which would make proposals for the solution of world problems. It would include both physical and social scientists. A possible budget after it was developed would be \$100,000,000 a year—one tenth of one per cent of the amount now spent on armaments each year.

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Evening: The CND meeting in the Olympia ballroom. Canon Collins, A. J. P. Taylor, Benn Levy, J. B. Priestley and John Horner are the speakers. The bookstall that Housman's have arranged does very well, and nearly everybody in the audience is interested in the selection of books and pamphlets.

Monday: The Conference proper begins with a debate on Education. The delegates are in obvious agreement with most points of the Executive statement "Learning to Live." The Public Schools are the only cause of dissension.

The debate continues on a fairly even level, until Frank Cousins, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, makes an effective speech against the Executive. Excitement warms up. The result of the debate is now in doubt. The block vote is split. We wait anxiously for the result.

Executive defeated?

If the Executive is defeated on the first day it will give heart to the rebels for the rest of the week. Winding up, Miss Alice Bacon is obviously rattled and reveals all that is worst in the Labour Party at the moment.

She even tries to discredit the mover of the motion on the Public Schools by revealing what had happened in one of the working parties on education. It turns out that what she reveals is inaccurate. The Executive are lucky and get home by a few hundred thousand votes.

Evening: We are anxious about the LPF meeting. There is a Labour Party "Any Questions" on colonial affairs meeting in the same building. Will that take our audience away from us? We need not have worried. The hall is packed and Dennis Brian, the secretary of the LPF, has to keep getting more chairs for late-comers.

Emrys Hughes makes a brilliant speech, Minnie Pallister a very funny one, and Fenner Brockway an effective one. For a moment I get an idea of what the Labour Party must have been like when it really cared about its ideals.

As a result of the meeting the LPF gets

more enquiries about membership than it has ever had before at its Conference meeting.

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Mr. Bevan reminds me of Asquith, said Emrys Hughes, MP.

meeting had given me an idea of the early Labour movement, this gave me some idea of the present Labour Party. The hotel is large and sumptuous, everybody speaks in cultured accents and wears neat dark suits. So these are the leaders of the party of the "working class."

Evening.—The MCF meeting in the Olympia Ballroom. Fenner Brockway is the Chairman and the speakers are Barbara Castle and Dr. David Pitt, a West Indian, who is prospective Parliamentary Candidate for the Hampstead constituency. A film of the South African situation is shown.

As soon as Barbara Castle rises to speak members of the League of Empire Loyalists rise and heckle. They ignore Fenner Brockway's pleas and are eventually thrown out. Mrs. Castle gives an excellent exposition of the new situation that has been created by Archbishop Makarios' offer. When she finishes, the Cypriots who are on the platform rush to shake her hand, and they will not let her go even though she has to hurry off to another meeting. We are all moved by the evident joy of the Cypriots.

Wednesday.—Inevitably the Press (including even the Manchester Guardian) seizes on the incident with the Empire Loyalists. The reception that Mrs. Castle's speech got is mentioned in passing or not at all.

Afternoon — Mr. Gaitskell gets a tremendous ovation when he winds up the debate on the Party's economic statement "Plan for progress," and the delegates rise and sing "For he's a jolly good fellow."

● ON BACK PAGE

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"Reconciliation in Ireland" a special Peace News Enquiry.

Formosa: proving ground for weapons

BOTH sides may well be using the latest "limited war" as an opportunity for trying out their weapons.

According to reports the Russians may have tested their MIG 19s and MIG 17s while the Americans have used the Sidewinder guided missile during recent air battles above Quemoy.

The Sidewinder emits a continuous signal when it comes to within three miles of an enemy jet exhaust. The pilot then releases the missile which follows the enemy's exhaust trail at 1,300 miles an hour and explodes inside the jet. American experts are quoted as saying that though the Nationalist pilots had never used the missiles before, early results were highly satisfactory.

Pauling in Germany

About 1,000 people tried in vain to get into a hall in Essen, Germany, where Dr. Linus Pauling spoke on Sept. 26 before leaving for Oslo.

His views regarding nuclear weapons were found to be exactly similar to those of Dr. Niemoeller.

Professor Pauling was made an honorary member of the Nordrhein-Westfalen group of the German Section of the War Resisters' International and was presented with the oldest broken rifle badge in Germany.

Frank Aiken, the Irish Minister for External Affairs, advocated recently before the General Assembly of the United Nations a progressive military and diplomatic drawing back by East and West both in the Middle East and in Middle Europe. The UN should supervise the operation and UN observers should be sent to the evacuated area "to serve as a guarantee against the return of foreign troops."

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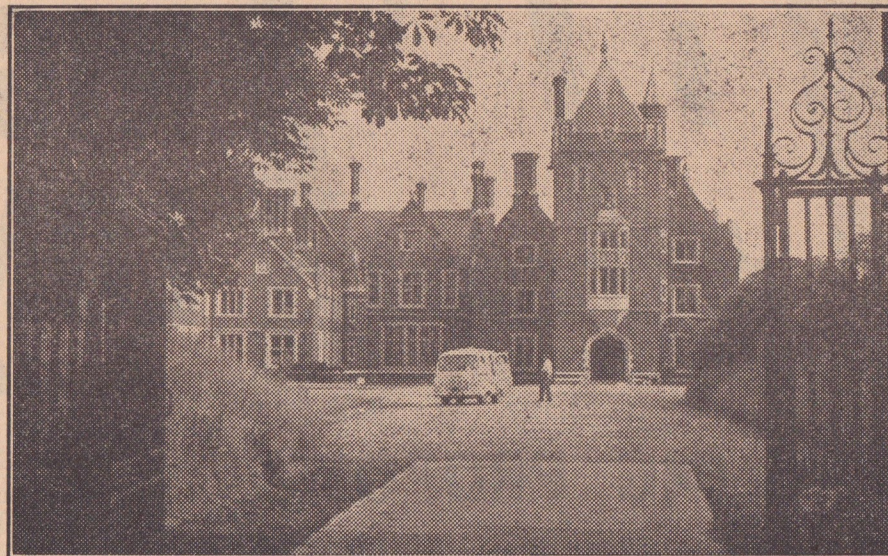
looking towards a
peaceful society

"BULSTRODE MANSION?" said the workman on the new houses, pointing across the parkland. "You mean that there brethren—"

This was my introduction to the Society of Brothers, who this summer opened their second English Bruderhof at Gerrards Cross, Bucks. Already about 80 people are in residence in this 100-roomed Victorian mansion—an RAF station during the war—surrounded by 70 acres of ornamental woodland. They include 12 families with rather more than 30 children. Most of them have come from the Wheathill Bruderhof in Shropshire, which, with over 200 members, was beginning to feel overcrowded.

A centre accessible to London and overseas countries has been sought for some time in order to foster the international connections of the Society. Founded in Germany in 1920 by Eberhard Arnold, the Bruderhof was driven out by the Nazis and settled in the Cotswolds, until the war brought another move to Paraguay. Now, in addition to its two English centres, there are two communities in South America, three in North America, and a recently-revived group in West Germany.

Each of these has its distinctive work by which the community is maintained. Primavera, in Paraguay, which has over 700 members, runs a hospital and medical service for the surrounding very primitive villages; a smaller group in Uruguay does market gardening. In the United States educational toys are made; Germany concentrates on box-making and handicrafts. Wheathill is primarily agricultural, and at Bulstrode it is planned to develop a light industry in tubular steel gates, sheep-pens and other farm equipment; this, together with some weaving, will ultimately support a community of about 100 people.



Bulstrode, the Society of Brothers new centre.

Every Bruderhof has its nursery, kindergarten and school. Many of the older children attend local secondary schools, and on leaving school they are encouraged to live for a time outside the community so that their final decision whether to become members is a free choice. Elisabeth, for instance, now at Bulstrode, has been training for three years at Mount Vernon hospital and intends to return to Paraguay as a nurse.

What sort of people are these, it may be asked, who have chosen, in this nuclear age, to surrender all their personal possessions, to receive no wage for their labour, and to forego most of the amenities of urban civilisation? Essentially, they are Christians. They seek to follow the example of the early disciples and make of their religion, not a sect or creed but a way of life. Voluntary poverty and pacifism are fundamental to their faith.

"At any rate, they look happy up there," remarked a roadman to young Jill, on her way to Wheathill after her conversion by a speaker in the Bull Ring, Birmingham. This atmosphere of contentment is confirmed at Bulstrode. Ellen, an American student with a Jewish background,

"Many of the top-ranking scientists have a marked sense of guilt, because their researches contributed to the design and development of nuclear weapons."—*World Health Organisation report on Mental Health aspects of Atomic Energy.*

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Family units form the basis of the Bruderhof, together with a fair number of single men and women; all have their own quarters, coming together twice a day for communal meals, when correspondence is read and news of the day discussed.

There are no "bosses." Any decisions that have to be made must be unanimously agreed, and all members take on a variety of tasks in addition to specialised jobs of teaching, cooking, and so on. Since members receive neither wages nor pocket money, buying is done in bulk by a steward and all supplies are obtained from the communal store.

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"At any rate, they look happy up there," remarked a roadman to young Jill, on her way to Wheathill after her conversion by a speaker in the Bull Ring, Birmingham. This atmosphere of contentment is confirmed at Bulstrode. Ellen, an American student with a Jewish background, "dropped in" at Wheathill four years ago on her way to a folk dance festival in France. Now she is married to one of the German-born members, Ulrich, who has returned to England from Paraguay.

The workshops at Bulstrode are under the supervision of Tom Potts, a quiet-voiced American who, with his wife Florence, spent five months at Wheathill, having come via Paraguay and Woodcrest in the United States.

Llewellyn Harries, the steward, and Bessie have been in the Bruderhof since the early Cotswold days. Their three youngest children are with them at Bulstrode, two others are in Germany, and the eldest is farming at Wheathill. Another Cotswold veteran is Margery Hindley, who was formerly a factory welfare worker in Bristol. She has never had second thoughts about her decision, and she sums up the community very simply: it puts first things first.

The deeper purpose of the Bruderhof is discussed in an editorial in "The Plough" (No. 1, 1958) which asks: "Do we act responsibly in times of world crisis by living in communities?" Yes, it replies, because the new order has to begin in basic human relationships: "There can be no peace without peacemakers; there can be no brotherhood without brothers. Our words remain empty and fruitless unless we can speak from a real experience and unless we can share that experience with others."

Throughout the summer teams of young Quakers, students and others have been helping to make Bulstrode habitable, but much still needs doing in the way of decorating, carpentry and building. Furniture, floor coverings and kitchen and laundry equipment are also badly needed, while a plumber, with his tools, would be particularly welcome.

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Thousands stopped to look at this impressive hoarding in Stuttgart, Germany. Discussions lasting several hours developed. On the hoarding was written the theme of the demonstration—250,000 casualties were caused by the bomb on Hiroshima. Earlier a meeting on Aug. 2 sponsored by the Joint Committee of Independent German Peace Organisations had adjourned to the Karlsplatz to join a vigil which had been in progress since the early hours of the morning, and which stayed round-the-clock until midnight on August 6 collecting 3,500 signatures to a letter of greetings to Hiroshima.

ROUND AND ABOUT WITH THE PPU PRISONERS TO HEAR STUART MORRIS AGAIN

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

TO secure an audience of 60 people for a Forum on International Affairs is no mean achievement these days.

In Rugby the Peace Pledge Union Group have made such a Forum an annual event to which the Press pays increasing attention.

This year they had two non-pacifists, James Johnson, MP, and the local Liberal candidate, on the panel with Sybil Morrison and Stuart Morris, PPU National Chairman and General Secretary.

Sybil Morrison's description of CD as a "gigantic piece of bluff" made a newspaper headline in the Leicester Evening Mail.

Members from as far afield as Bath, Bridgwater, Swindon and Weymouth filled the Friends Meeting House at Bristol for an area meeting and stayed to hear a recently recorded speech by the Rev. Martin Luther King, the American Negro pacifist leader, now recovering after being stabbed in Harlem.

MARTIN LUTHER KING

A public meeting which followed heard Sybil Morrison declare that the whole build-up of nuclear armaments was the relentless consequence of relying on the method of war. The start of pacifism was to believe that to kill one's fellow human kind could not be justified.

In Jersey the Channel Island PPU has launched a petition crystallising opposition to British and American policy in the Far East.

£ s. d.

Six months prison for Phoenix skipper

FROM OUR AMERICAN CORRESPONDENT

EARLE REYNOLDS, arrested last July for sailing his yacht *Phoenix* into the Pacific bomb-testing area, was sentenced on Sept. 26 to six months in prison and 18 months on probation. Sentence was imposed by US Judge J. Frank McLaughlin, after he rejected a plea for a new trial by Reynold's attorney, Joseph Rauh, Jr.

The plea was based on Judge McLaughlin's refusal to adjourn Reynold's trial until Rauh's arrival in Honolulu. The trial was held on Aug. 26.

"If Mr. Rauh had conducted my defence at the trial he would have raised a great number of questions not raised, and the result would have been different," Reynolds said in a memorandum submitted to the court.

'Illegal' regulations

Rauh argued that among the points he would have raised are the "illegal" Atomic Energy Commission regulations enacted especially to "prevent protests" against nuclear tests. He charged that the regulations violate international law by restricting freedom of navigation, freedom of fishing, and freedom from pollution.

Asserting that what Rauh would have done at the trial was too "iffy," Judge McLaughlin commented: "There has never been a trial that was a perfect trial."

Prior to being sentenced, Reynolds explained that in sailing into the bomb-testing area "I thought I was exposing another illegal act of the AEC." He accused the AEC of "playing false with the US public" by giving reports minimising the effects of nuclear fall-out.

"I am appalled and ashamed that the reports the AEC gave the public were such bad science—erroneous and untrue," he told the court.

Judge McLaughlin commented: "You may be right, but certainly the way you have taken to prove you are right is not a commendable way." He thereupon imposed the six-month jail term, a sentence far more severe than the 60 days imposed by Judge John Wiig on the five crewmen of the *Golden Rule* who attempted to sail

into the bomb-testing area a week before the *Phoenix*.

Rauh immediately filed notice of appeal. "I am confident of the outcome," he told reporters. Commenting on the attorney's handling of the case, the Honolulu Advertiser reported:

"Rauh impressed courtroom regulars with a persuasive, forceful manner—upholding his reputation as one of the nation's top courtroom lawyers."

He recently won the Arthur Miller case in which the well-known playwright, husband of Marilyn Monroe, was charged with contempt for refusing to inform to the Eastland Committee.

Back to Honolulu

Pending the appeal, Reynold's bail of \$500 will be continued. The *Phoenix*, manned by Reynold's son, Ted, his wife Barbara, and Nick Mikami, is on its way back to Honolulu. Earle Reynolds was the only crew member arrested when the *Phoenix* was halted by a Coast Guard cutter 65 miles inside the bomb-testing area.

To carry through the appeal and to defray the heavy expenses incurred by the Reynolds family an appeal is being made in the USA by the *Phoenix* Defence Fund, PO Box 5199, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Michael Scott at UN

ALTHOUGH Britain voted against a hearing, the Rev. Michael Scott and Mr. Getzen will appear before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. They will be heard on the report of the UN good offices committee which has suggested that the Assembly authorise the South African Government to examine partitioning South-West Africa so that one part is absorbed into the Union and the other is placed under UN trusteeship.

days.

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THOUGH often misquoted, what St. Paul said about money was "The love of money is the root of all evil." Money as such is neither good nor bad, except in the distinction between genuine and counterfeit coins or notes. Those qualities apply only to the use to which it is put.



"Money cannot buy happiness," ran an intelligence note in an evening paper recently, "but it can help you to look for it in a lot more places." Money cannot buy pacifism, but it can help to make it known in a lot more places and in a variety of ways. If you are unable yourself to join a poster parade, distribute leaflets or organise a meeting, you can let your money work for you, and through it take your share in spreading pacifism.

There is no more urgent and vital task today than making clear what is the way to constructive peacemaking. There is no effective way except that of total unconditioned unilateral disarmament. There is no better way of using your money than in the proclamation of that truth.

That is why I am asking you to let your money work for peace by sending some of it to the Peace Pledge Union Headquarters Fund and taking your share in our autumn and winter activities. This call is urgent because Headquarters Fund should have reached £900 by the end of September, but only stands at £705. Please help to put this right.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

area meeting and stayed to hear a recently recorded speech by the Rev. Martin Luther King, the American Negro pacifist leader, now recovering after being stabbed in Haarlem.

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In Jersey the Channel Island PPU has launched a petition crystallising opposition to British and American policy in the Far East.

In Hull the PPU use to good effect the regular "Corner" (it is almost a quarter of a page) which is given to them in a local monthly, the Hull Sentinel.

Answering the question "What do CO's accomplish by going to prison today?" a correspondent told of the case of one CO imprisoned for refusing to undertake alternative civilian work:

"His case afforded an opportunity to expound the position of the absolutist. Quite simply one morning a prison officer said: 'I should have registered yesterday. I refused. I'm one of you.'"

PEACEFUL INTENTIONS

Difference of opinion on current events and the causes of war were aired publicly at St. Albans recently. The fallacy of compromise, of thinking with peaceful intentions rather than having the courage to abandon the method of war, was expounded by the other members of the panel, the Rev. Booth Taylor, Sybil Morrison and Minnie Pallister.

The public meeting at St. Albans followed on a London Area Rally of PPU members. People came from as far south as Richmond as part of a new development plan put in operation by area organiser Myrtle Solomon to help solve some of the local problems of groups.

"This autumn seems to be about as full of meetings as any I have known," Stuart Morris, PPU General Secretary, told Peace News last week.

He personally is already booked to attend about 30 meetings in October and November. His programme includes a rally in the Lakeland area and a return visit to the open prison at Leyhill in the West of England to talk to the prisoners about his visit to the USSR.

One 12-day period will see him in Bath, Newcastle, Oxford and North Wales in that order.

AEC of "playing false with the US public" by giving reports minimising the effects of nuclear fall-out.

"I am appalled and ashamed that the reports the AEC gave the public were such bad science—erroneous and untrue," he told the court.

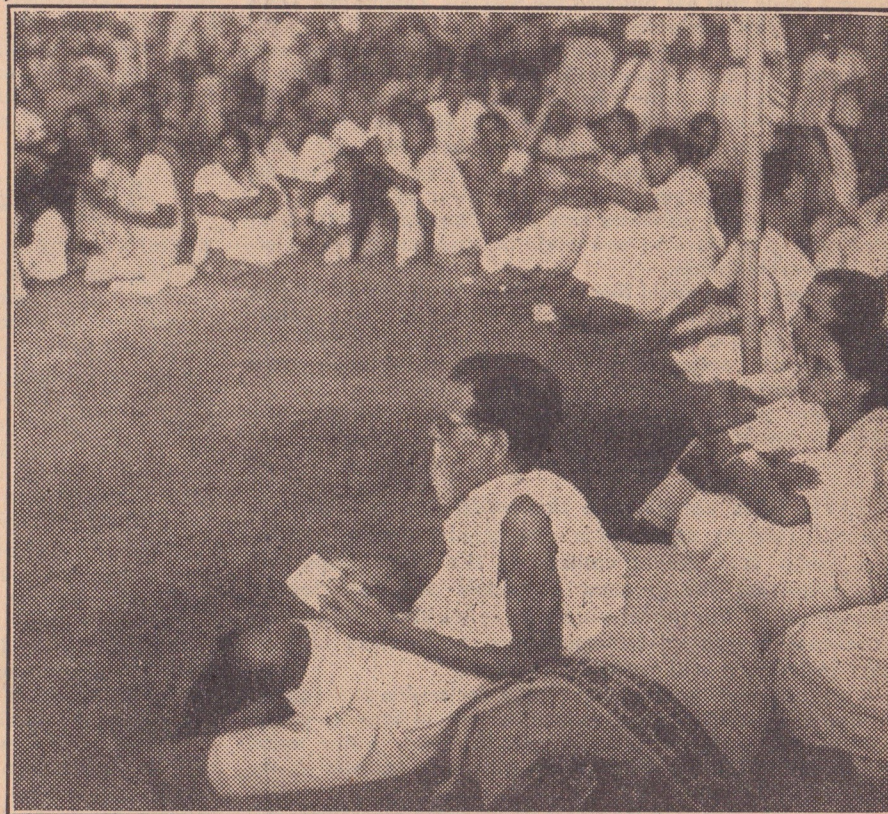
Judge McLaughlin commented: "You may be right, but certainly the way you have taken to prove you are right is not a commendable way." He thereupon imposed the six-month jail term, a sentence far more severe than the 60 days imposed by Judge John Wiig on the five crewmen of the Golden Rule who attempted to sail

in the USA by the Phoenix Defence Fund, PO Box 5199, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Michael Scott at UN

ALTHOUGH Britain voted against a hearing, the Rev. Michael Scott and Mr. Getzen will appear before the United Nations Trusteeship Committee. They will be heard on the report of the UN good offices committee which has suggested that the Assembly authorise the South African Government to examine partitioning South-West Africa so that one part is absorbed into the Union and the other is placed under UN trusteeship.

VINOBA'S LIFE HAS JUST BEGUN



Vinoba Bhave, seen above addressing a village meeting, was 63 on Sept. 11. A disciple of Gandhi, he has walked hundreds of miles in India collecting land which is then redistributed to the landless. His Bhoodan Yajna, or Land Gift Mission, started over seven years ago and has since collected several million acres of land. This old, sick man who walks at a cracking pace on his journeys from village to village, had this to say at a ceremony to celebrate his sixtieth birthday: "What does it mean that a man has completed 60 years of his life? It only signifies that he has just learnt how to live. I believe that real life begins in this age (of 60) and my life has also just begun."

PEACE NEWS

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“MERELY MORAL”

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL has suggested that the case against the British manufacture of the H-bomb should be argued on other than moral grounds. A fortnight ago we commented on Sir Stephen's casual reference to the moral aspect of the case and suggested that he thought such moral attributes as the case had were regrettable.

Our sardonic comment doubtlessly invited the “tit-for-tat” conveyed in his letter to Peace News last week when he remarked that “excluding the readers of PN, we are dealing with wicked men in a wicked world.”

Leaving out of account Sir Stephen's side swipe at the pacifists, however, his comment does raise a question of fundamental importance, for, if the dominant fact we have to contend with is that men are wicked, it seems to us to be a piece of obvious unrealism to expect it to be possible to move forward to a better world. And it is surely the limit in unreality to assume that wicked men, incapable of acting on the basis of moral considerations, can be brought to a point where they will follow a policy of non-violent resistance to aggression.

Now it is not our case that men in the majority are incapable of wickedness. Despite an occasional example here and there, we certainly do not look to find saints among them, whether they are readers of PN or not.

What we do assume, however, is that the majority of men and women are in the main decent people, capable of responding to an appeal to their sense of decency.

★ ★

WE remarked in our article that Sir Stephen had no need to persuade most of those responsible for the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament to eschew “moral and pacifist” considerations; they are only too ready to do this.

Mr. Ritchie Calder wrote to the New Statesman at the same time to make this evident, and in a brief comment in the next issue Mr. Victor Gollancz has pointed out that Mr. Calder has ranked political, military and scientific arguments above moral considerations, that he has repudiated the charge that the line taken by the Campaign is “merely” moral, although there is in preparation a pamphlet on the moral argument intended to rebut the bishops and with the limited intention of appealing to the Church.

Mr. Ritchie Calder, Mr. Benn Levy, and those who think like

Murder in Cyprus

THE vicious circle of terror and counter-terror continues in Cyprus. The murder of a British woman in Famagusta has caused a wave of horror and disgust in this country which will tend to harden British opinion against the just demands of the Greek Cypriots; but the evil will not end there, and its roots lie deeper than most British people are prepared to realise.

The root lies in imperialism—the system which, we are so often told, is dead. But whenever self-government is denied to people, for economic, strategic or any other reasons, imperialism still persists. Sooner or later it is challenged by an organised popular demand and it can only survive at all by ruthless repression. This is a stupid and vicious way of buying time for no purpose, since it always ends in defeat, ultimately.

It would be a better world with a more hopeful future if all movements of colonial revolt had learned from Gandhi. They have not—and until we can persuade our countrymen to abandon their efforts to dominate by brute force, we are not in a good position to read lectures on pacifism to British Colonial subjects. It is to our own countrymen, more than ever, that we now need to speak.

We can share to the full their disgust at the murder of Mrs. Cutliffe, even though the wholesale murder of innocent people by the million (as an “unfortunate necessity” in nuclear war) does not, apparently, produce in them the same moral revulsion. This is merely a variant of the theme in the film “Orders to Kill.” What may be more urgent is the realisation of our own responsibility for this murder.

In a sense that murder was committed at the Congress of Berlin, when Disraeli's “peace with honour” included a dishonest under-the-counter bargain with Turkey for an island to which neither Britain nor Turkey had any moral claim, an island inhabited mainly by Greeks.

Our long failure to respond to popular demand in that island was the next step towards the murder of Mrs. Cutliffe—and to many other horrible acts on both sides. In a contest of this sort it is inevitable, as it is in war, that ruthlessness increases year by year. Imperialism gave rise to resistance, resistance to repression, repression to more ruthless methods of struggle, in which there has been keen competition.

The murder of a British woman follows closely on fresh reports of torture used against the population in the name of “law and order.” Grimly and significantly the reports of Mrs. Cutliffe's murder in the papers last Saturday, next mentioned a “shuttle service” of ambulances from the screening pens (where 1,000 Greeks had hurriedly been incarcerated) to the hospital.

What is it, one wonders, in our methods of screening suspects which necessitates a shuttle service to the hospital?

One paper (the News Chronicle) spoke of the mood

the Algerians, has been promoted and is to be given a post somewhere else. General Salan has received a letter of congratulation on the measures he has taken to secure in Algeria the success of the referendum, and an expression of confidence in his capacity for the early achievement of complete “pacification” of Algeria. There is also a report, however, that General Salan, too, has received a promotion that will remove him from active command in Algeria.

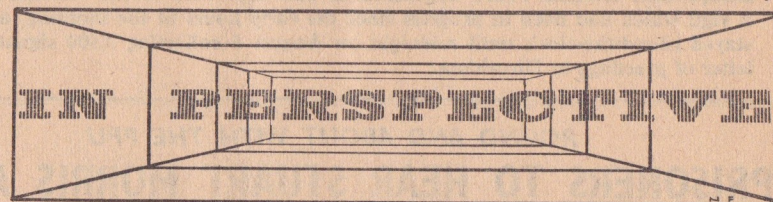
Word twisting

WE have become used to hearing about “the free peoples” and “the free world,” although we know perfectly well that these high-sounding phrases cover the regimes of Franco, Salazar, Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee and Co.—in addition to the colonial systems of Britain, France and Belgium, etc.

On the other hand, we know that “the peace-loving peoples,” as used by the Communists and fellow travellers, include those who ruthlessly suppressed Hungary's bid for freedom.

We know that police action can be used (e.g., in the case of Suez) to describe a savage attack on the victim of the assault—in collaboration with the assailant.

We know that a “Democratic Peoples' Republic” bears the same relationship to democracy as “National Socialism” does to socialism in the accepted sense of the term—that is to say, no relationship at all. (“There have never been such democratic elections in Germany as those which are held today in our Republic,” said an East German leader recently.)



Democratic German Report, which records these words unblushingly, also informs us that East Germans “will go to the polls on Nov. 16 to give their approval to the coalition list of candidates.” (Our italics.)

“Multi-racial society” (as used in e.g. Kenya and the Rhodesias) is another obvious fraud. But the latest piece of verbal gymnastics is to be found in an article about “Quislings” by a Special Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph (Oct. 1).

“I use the word Quisling,” says this anonymous humorist, “to describe people who wish to rid their country of British occupation at almost any cost.”

This, I think, deserves the prize. It is, after all, a mere 18 years since “Quisling” leaped into common use as a term applicable to those who collaborate with the invaders and occupiers of their country in oppressing their countrymen. Within so short a period we now find it so used that almost everybody in Norway would have been a Quisling, except the original Quisling and his accomplices. They would have been “loyal natives” in such an assessment as this.

On second thoughts, though, even this won't quite do. The word was used by the British to describe

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Mr. Ritchie Calder, Mr. Benn Levy, and those who think like them in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament are merely expressing a mood that has obsessed the Socialist, Labour and Trade Union movements in recent years.

This mood takes as its basic assumption that men can only be persuaded to move along lines that can be clearly shown to serve their own immediate material interests. Whenever policies are advocated, therefore, the moral appeal is eliminated, and when—as must happen if the policy advocated is to have any social value at all—moral considerations cannot be excluded, they are insinuated into the argument under the cover of an appeal to interests. The moral attributes they may "happen to have" are treated as if to let them be seen might be characterised as a piece of indecent exhibitionism.

Any reader who would like to see how far the mood we have referred to has gone should look at the volume of "New Fabian Essays," published a few years ago, where, with the exception of Mr. Crossman's opening essay, they will not find a single moral principle enunciated or openly endorsed in the volume.

Younger people who are now becoming concerned with politics are breaking through this stultifying limitation.

★ ★
POLITICS are valueless in the world to-day without a moral content and unless one wants mere organisational goals that moral content is the most important thing, requiring the greatest emphasis and the clearest formulation. If the moral objective is relegated to a place subordinate to the advancement and adjustment of particular interests it will never be realised.

A good example is the Labour Party declaration in favour of allocating one per cent of the national income to help the poorer people of the world. That is, or can be, made a fine moral objective. It will never be implemented, however, without the drive of a moral crusade.

Nobody who followed the recent Scarborough proceedings can have any hope that it will be undertaken at present.

The question of a moral basis for politics to-day is fundamental. Both the Trade Union and the Labour movement are rotting for the lack of it. The need applies to trade union objectives and to social objectives in politics; it also applies in the field of international affairs.

THE QUESTION OF MAN'S WILLINGNESS TO USE THE H-BOMB CANNOT BE REALISTICALLY CONSIDERED APART FROM MORALS.

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What is it, one wonders, in our methods of screening suspects which necessitates a shuttle service to the hospital?

One paper (the News Chronicle) spoke of the mood of the British troops as the "bitterest ever." This is easy to understand; but it does not excuse further British atrocities any more than such atrocities excuse this murder of a soldier's wife. All we can learn from it is the lesson that George Washington, Michael Collins, Gandhi and others tried—by very different methods—to teach us in the past: that freedom is the only answer.

Algeria's future

GENERAL DE GAULLE has left unsettled every issue that might divide the Algerian ultras from his "left" and "centre" supporters, leaving each with some reason to hope that the General will ultimately come down on their side.

What he has been specific about is a proposed "five-year plan." He lays it down that the conditions of life of the native Algerians must show improvement "from day to day," that their resources must be developed and their children instructed so that the whole of Algeria shall have its part in the well-being and dignity that modern civilisation can bring to men.

This is the kind of promise that the Algerians, like every other colonial people, have heard again and again. The General gives some specific undertakings, however. In the next five years one-tenth of the entrants in the whole of France to the civil service, the teaching profession, the magistrature and the army are to be Algerians. During the same period wages and salaries in Algeria are to be put on the same basis in Algeria as in France. There is to be a distribution of more than half a million acres of land to Algerian agricultural workers. And two-thirds of the Algerian children are to be found places in schools, while in the following three years education for every Algerian child is promised. In the five-year period there is also to be the construction of a million new homes in Algeria.

General de Gaulle seems to have taken a number of steps in regard to the army in Algeria, the significance of which has yet to be clarified. It is reported, for instance, that Colonel Lacheroy, the leading figure in the development of psychological warfare among

the Rhodesias) is another obvious fraud. But the latest piece of verbal gymnastics is to be found in an article about "Quislings" by a Special Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph (Oct. 1).

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On second thoughts, though, even this won't quite do. The revised usage specifies only *British* occupation. Quisling's Norwegian origin appears to have been quite forgotten; he is now a naturalised African with a dislike of white domination—a role which the Norwegian Fascist must find bewildering, wherever he is by now. No doubt that Special Correspondent will find out in time, but it will be too late for publication.

Less of a prisoner

AS observant readers of our Diary column will have noticed, the next sitting of the London and South-Eastern Local Tribunal for conscientious objectors is to be held not in the notorious council chamber of Fulham Town Hall, but in a committee room of the Town Hall at Kensington. No longer will the Tribunal sit on a dais above the young applicant, surrounded by regally militant paintings, but will conduct the hearing in the surroundings where the CO will feel much less of a "prisoner in the dock."

This is the second change of premises resulting directly from the representations made by the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors for the implementation of the Franks Committee Report. The other move was at Leeds, where the Tribunal last July left the court room for a much less formal atmosphere in the Leeds Incorporated Law Society's premises.

We hope, however, that the London Tribunal will emulate Leeds in more than a change of room. In Leeds a recently appointed chairman, with new Tribunal members, has brought a refreshing sense of fairness and reasonableness into the hearings, even to the extent of discontinuing the use of the "conditional registration" as a means of virtually punishing the CO, and the nation, by directing him away from work for which he is trained into manual labour where he may be of much less practical use.

For instance, in accordance with its principle of ensuring that a CO obtains no advantage over those in the Forces, last August the Fulham Tribunal directed a young BSc graduate to work on the land, in a hospital, in the building trade or in food distribution. The CO had been doing post-graduate research in the Education Department of Oxford University and had intended to help train some of the science teachers for which the nation is crying.

SCARBOROUGH VIEWPOINT I

Who has the H-perm?

ALEX COMFORT

ALTHOUGH Mr. Gaitskell will point to the voting at Scarborough to prove that the issue of H-bomb production is "now settled," I doubt if it will relieve his anxieties. It is by no means "settled" that he will be the next Prime Minister.

To the anti-bomb campaign it is a valuable lesson in tactics, for it will probably help to prevent it from being diverted by arguments about "working within the parties."

The knack of party leadership—particularly the knack of making a Labour party vote for Conservative policies—lies to some extent in realising that people do not, in the event, vote for, or insist upon, the policies they really want and would vote for as single issues, provided in a larger scene" where they can be diluted with appeals to unity, abuse of the opposing advocates of the same policies, and so on.

Isolating an issue

This, after all, is the basis of the party system. The knack of coercing the party leaderships, therefore, lies largely in isolating an issue—this is the reason that, in the party game, referenda are by agreement "not cricket." If the method of isolating that issue can be made to threaten the confidence men's prospects of personal aggrandisement, they will try to outbid it—first with talk, later, if they have to, with action.

It happens that the anti-bomb campaigners were, and still are, unusually well placed in this respect. The issue is moral, and the only analogous campaigns in this country which have succeeded have all had a large moral component.

This one comes at a time when disillusion with machine-made politics is increasing, and while the Labour H-bomb may not lose it an election, the impossibility, persiflage apart, of telling whether Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Gaitskell has the home perm is going a long way to do so.

Voters always gypped

There are two kinds of political campaign

The Madison Avenue ideology

IF I were a Gandhian living outside the United States my first question about that country today would be: "How come that Southern Negroes have made no non-violent protest over the school situation—even though the Supreme Court is on their side?"

I, myself, view the need for such action as so urgent that I have enlisted as organiser of the Youth March for Integrated Schools, a demonstration of Negro and white young people to take place in the nation's capital later this month.

While this March will prove more effective than no action at all, when it is over, it will be ended. Like the great Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom in Washington a year ago and like the precedent-setting boycott against bus segregation in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1956, the March will not spark-plug any follow-through protest in the deep South.

Brainwashed Americans

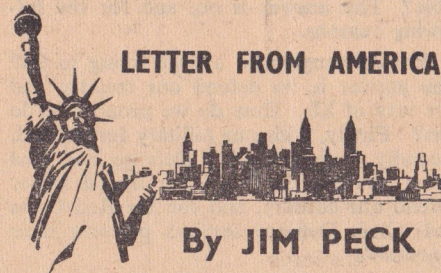
Some persons might attribute this to the nature of southern Negroes—the inevitable ignorance, apathy and fear built up through years of persecution. Such an explanation, however, cannot account for an action such as the Montgomery bus boycott in which almost the entire Negro population of the city participated.

The real explanation lies not in the nature of southern Negroes but the nature of Americans—white, Negro or any other colour—subjected, as they are, to the Madison Avenue ideology. Americans are brainwashed with this ideology—even though the United States is not a dictatorship—as thoroughly as the Russians are brainwashed with the Kremlin ideology.

It is difficult for persons who have never been to the United States and witnessed the Madison Avenue ideology in process, to realise its overwhelming scope. Madison

Avenue is the avenue in New York City in whose slick, skyscraper offices is created the propaganda which flows to every corner of the country. It flows in unlimited volume via television, radio, newspapers, movies,

LETTER FROM AMERICA



By JIM PECK

magazines, billboards—on a scale incomprehensible to western Europeans.

Substance of this ideology is: To be a success—the only desirable goal—get rich, and be a conformist. Conform in every respect: dress, cooking, home-decorating, buying the latest model car—and, especially in thought and speech. Non-conformist expression of opinion is "egghead," "screwball," "unamerican"—something to be shunned in others like bad breath or body odour.

Non-violent protest is even more "outrageous." Many times on picket lines I have been asked by passers-by: "How much are they paying you to do this?" When I reply that I am not being paid: that I am picketing solely to attain the objective at hand, the passers-by make it plain that they consider me either a liar or a fool.

The Madison Avenue ideology permeates our labour movement and our political system. Not a single top labour leader in the US considers unions as more than bread-and-butter business organisations for higher wages and shorter hours. The few workers who, like so many in western

Europe, take a principled interest in labour and social issues, are misfits even in their own union halls. The political system consists of two big parties with almost identical stands on all major issues. Loyalty to one's respective party is akin to loyalty to one's favourite baseball team—no more. A candidate's appearance and personality are the tokens by which he is judged.

The Negroes, of course, are no more immune to the Madison Avenue ideology than anybody else. Hence the basic position of the two major Negro rights organisations—the Urban League and the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People—is not one which favours picketing or other forms of non-violent action. In fact, these organisations have frowned upon such action when it has been taken by their branches or by smaller groups such as those of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

Temporary exception

Martin Luther King and the leadership of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which conducted the bus boycott, constituted an exception—but only temporarily. Following the successful conclusion of the bus boycott, the Montgomery Improvement Association became "respectable" and no further non-violent action has been contemplated in that city.

The fact is that in the field of Negro rights—like in labour, like in politics—there is not a single top leader advocating an approach contrary to the Madison Avenue credo, and non-violent action is such an approach. That is why there is no non-violent protest by Southern Negroes over what is, in effect, a monstrous injustice—the illegal adherence to school segregation.

That is also why there is no major protest today by Americans of all colour over what is the brinkiest brink-of-war to which our Secretary of State has yet piloted us.

Nye unconvincing on the bomb

THE Labour Party Conference which concluded at Scarborough on Friday can be summed up in one sentence. The Party has moved to the Left and the Party is united.

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SCARBOROUGH VIEWPOINT II

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP



It happens that the anti-bomb campaigners were, and still are, unusually well placed in this respect. The issue is moral, and the only analogous campaigns in this country which have succeeded have all had a large moral component.

This one comes at a time when disillusion with machine-made politics is increasing, and while the Labour H-bomb may not lose it an election, the impossibility, persiflage apart, of telling whether Mr. Macmillan or Mr. Gaitskell has the home perm is going a long way to do so.

Voters always gypped

There are two kinds of political campaign—campaigns for issues, and campaigns for office. The Party campaigns are of the second kind—the problem before campaigns of the first kind is largely to canalise the distrust and distaste of the public for the men and policies for whom they nevertheless vote.

There must be relatively few voters who remember a time when they approved of what was being done in their name on more than two issues at a time. Most of them recognise (less explicitly but more clearly than the politically-minded people who organise campaigns) that, largely through their own fault, the voters are *always* gypped by the outcome, regardless of party choice.

This is a fact of life, like the weather. Nine out of ten would admit it in conversation, and allow for it—they “haven’t done us too badly” on the minor domestic issues slipped into the programme to evoke that response. If these beliefs can be made to influence the actions of a sizeable public, even without immediately influencing their vote, a campaign has succeeded.

Nobody knows better than the confidence men (Suez apart) how far they can go.

After Scarborough
THE FIGHT
WILL GO ON
at the polls
FELLOWSHIP PARTY candidates
will stand for
UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT
and SOCIALISM
All enquiries welcomed by
The National Agent
14 Parkgate Road, London, S.W.11

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This does not mean, of course, that the Left is satisfied. It is profoundly hurt that the Party should endorse British possession of the hydrogen bomb. It feels that the Party should not have shirked a condemnation of the crown of the class structure of education in the existence of Public Schools (Eton, Harrow and the others), which have for decades produced the reactionary clique governing Britain and the colonies. It wanted more Socialism, more public ownership of key monopolies, in the economic policy of the Party.

Next foreign secretary

Before drawing up this political balance sheet I want to express an opinion on the fascinating subject of Mr. Aneurin Bevan. I am one of those who want to see him become Labour's next Foreign Secretary. He can contribute more than any man I know to the ending of the Cold War. He has the respect of Mr. Khrushchov and, if he is outspoken in his criticism of Mr. Dulles, so is a great part of American opinion.

The plan for the neutralisation of the three critical areas of the world—Central Europe (including Germany), the Middle East (Western Asia) and Formosa (preceding a plebiscite)—is the most imaginative political idea of this time, and Nye has set his heart on it. I believe that as Foreign Secretary he would lead the world in crossing the watershed from war to constructive peace. I want Nye to have his chance.

Then what is the explanation of his defence of British retention of the H-bomb? I think it was revealed in his speech at the Tribune meeting during the Labour Party Conference. He acknowledged that the compromises of leadership troubled him. He exposed the conflicts in his own mind. He may have rationalised his defence of the possession of the H-bomb, but I feel sure

SCARBOROUGH VIEWPOINT II

By **FENNER BROCKWAY, MP**

Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom



that subconsciously he is unhappy. His reasoning on every other subject is clear and logical.

On this he is unconvincing.

Look at his arguments.

Last year he did not want to go naked in discussions with America. What strength comes from Britain's 12 bombs against America's hundreds, perhaps thousands?

He warned the Tribune meeting that the next general Election might be the last because of the threat of human destruction, and demanded an uncompromising socialist policy. Is not compromise on the bomb an invitation to destruction?

He told the Conference that the Opposition did not know what nuclear weapons Britain possesses, and that a Labour Government must be free to decide when it has knowledge. What difference does that make to the principle of H-bomb possession?

Against the tests

He was on stronger ground when he argued in a television interview that if Britain remains a member of NATO we are sheltering behind American H-bombs. That is an issue we are not facing openly. Only Emrys Hughes did so at the Conference. But surely Nye is aiming at a European Security Pact which shall replace and bridge the NATO and Warsaw Pacts?

Nye spoke briefly and unconvincingly on the H-bomb. On the stopping of tests he spoke passionately and with conviction. I quote his words:

“On moral grounds alone we believe that tests should be stopped. We have pledged ourselves in unequivocal language that whatever the consequences may be, if Labour is returned to power the tests will stop. We will not wait for any other

nation to agree to stop, but will stop ourselves and hope others will follow our example.”

Was Nye unaware that everything he said about tests applies to the production of the bomb? “On moral grounds.” Morality is far more involved in possessing the weapon. “Whatever the consequences.” That is the challenge of the bomb itself. “Hope others will follow.” That is the more fateful hope of entire renunciation.

In this passage, Nye stated the whole case for those who ask that Britain should reject the bomb.

The H-bomb opponents were defeated by five to one, but they got something from the debate. Nye left the way open for a Labour Government to decide one way or the other. Hugh Gaitskell said that if Britain's possession of the bomb proved a factor in the refusal of other countries to renounce it, Labour would regard this as “a very very powerful argument indeed” (I should think so!).

New hope for Britain

These were, at least, some concessions to the minority. We should take some heart from them. Just as Labour's endorsement of German rearmament has been changed, so we can change its attitude on the H-bomb.

We must not allow our dissent on this issue to blind our recognition of the advance which the Party has made on international and racial issues. Its pledges offer a new hope for Britain and the world, and would end the cold war not merely by peaceful co-existence but by positive co-operation.

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THE GREAT PRETENCE OF DEFENCE

Civil defence useless in nuclear age

DURING the war it was my privilege to be Officer-in-Charge of Transport at the London HQ of the Red Cross and Order of St. John.

The work of the Transport Department involved conveying sick and wounded service men, "exchanged" prisoners-of-war, and refugees from the Far East, between stations, hospitals and their homes, providing mobile canteens for them at the stations, taking medical stores to hospitals and Red Cross centres, parcels for prisoners-of-war to the despatch depot, supplies to children's play centres, and many other activities which space prevents me from mentioning.

The drivers, who also acted as stretcher-bearers, were usually women, and carried out their duties at all hours of the day and night. Nothing, neither air raids nor shortage of supplies, ever prevented them from doing so.

Thirteen years have passed since the end of World War II, since when a re-evaluation has been taking place. The turning point came with Hiroshima. Not only statesmen, generals and scientists, but also ordinary men and women, then realised that an entirely new situation had arisen.

Vital question

The immediate effect was

(i) to turn a just war into an unjust one, and

(ii) to start the thermo-nuclear race.

The long-term effect was to make everyone ask himself a vital question: Can war continue to be accepted as a method of settling disputes?

The examination of this question—can war continue to be acceptable?—fell into two parts:

(i) Is it possible?

(ii) Is it right?

Taking the first question first—Is it pos-

sible? The answer is no, and for the following reasons.

What, through war, are we trying to do? The answer is, to defend our country and our way of life. How do we propose to do this? Firstly, with our military forces, and, secondly, with our Civil Defence and Red Cross services, etc. Can our armed forces defend our country, and can the Red Cross and Civil Defence services perform their functions?

Regarding our military forces, these exist to defend the country, and not *vice versa*. If they fail, if by the very nature of modern warfare they are bound to fail, then they no longer serve their purpose. Many authorities have said that they believe our military forces could not but fail to defend our country, and at best would be able to defend only themselves.

Five minute evacuation

Mr. Duncan Sandys, Minister of Defence, said at Canberra on August 20, 1957, "We decided not to defend the whole country but to defend only our bomber bases." The British Admiralty takes the view that the Navy will be safer to make for sea. Mr. J. B. Priestley says, "The prospect now is not of countries without navies but of navies without countries."

Regarding our Civil Defence and Red Cross, will these have any better chance of performing their function than have the military forces? Again the answer is no.

A few quotations from leading authorities will show why. The Government, in whose opinion war is still a valid instrument, have not to my mind published anything to date which would invalidate the following statement which appears in

"Government Statement on Defence, 1956": "Whatever the preparations made, an attack on this country would involve loss of life and destruction on an unparalleled scale." It is the Government's view that we should get five minutes' warning—or none—of an atomic attack, and that during this five minutes 12,000,000 people would have to be evacuated from the highly industrialised areas.

The problem of corpses

This is what Prof. C. F. Powell, F.R.S., says about the effects of one hydrogen bomb explosion: "It appears almost certain that a well-directed hydrogen bomb could cause the almost complete destruction of the fabric and the population of any city on earth, whether Moscow, London or New York." A survey estimates that America would suffer 22,000,000 hospital cases and 9,000,000 dead. The US Civil Defence Administrator, Mr. Val Peterson, commented on this:

"Just as a practical matter how in hell are you going to bury 9,000,000 corpses?"

When, therefore, the position is examined, it will be understood that there is in fact no possibility of the Civil Defence and Red Cross taking any action once a thermo-nuclear war has begun. These services would not only be powerless: they would no longer exist.

It is clear, therefore, that in a thermo-nuclear war neither the military forces nor the Civil Defence and Red Cross services would be able to carry out their proper function of defending the country and caring for the wounded.

Their usefulness has ceased to exist.

We now come to the second part of the examination as to whether war can continue to be acceptable, i.e., is it right? This is, of course, the most important part. As citizens with political responsibility for how the affairs of our country are conducted, we

By Elizabeth FitzGerald

Our contributor, is a musician by profession and wife of Brian FitzGerald, the writer. In October last year she wrote in PN a detailed reply to Mr. Bevan's charge that supporters of the Norwood Resolution (calling upon the Labour



Party Conference at Brighton to vote for unilateral renunciation of nuclear weapons) had not thought out the full implications of their motion.

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have obligations to discharge towards both our military forces and towards the population as a whole.

Taking the military first, it might be argued that, thermo-nuclear weapons being what they are, we should refuse to arm our forces with nuclear weapons, and should allow them only conventional weapons. But this would be failing morally in our duty towards our forces, because it would be sending them into battle at a disadvantage in relation to the enemy—it would be like sending a boxer into the ring with one arm tied behind his back—and would therefore be morally impossible.

**Nuclear weapons and conventional weapons, therefore, stand or fall together.**

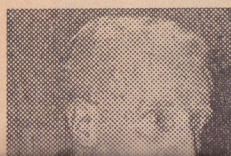
If we accept the thesis that the appalling consequences of using nuclear weapons makes their use immoral, then, logically, we must abandon all idea of opposing military force with military force.

### Mutilating the future

Now we come to our obligations towards the population as a whole. We have indeed arrived at the most important consideration of all—the question of consent.

It should by now be clear that any attempt to defend the population with nuclear weapons is no defence and would result in the population being largely destroyed.

## BEHIND THE PROBLEM OF FORMOSA



### ROOTS OF THE SOLUTION

nising that in both China and Russia tyranny and reaction were so deeply entrenched that only a root and branch revolution could save the situation, and that failing the emergence of a spiritual leader of the order of Gandhi, something in the nature of Communism was inevitable.



The examination of this question—can war continue to be acceptable?—fell into two parts:

(i) Is it possible?

(ii) Is it right?

Taking the first question first—Is it pos-

sible? A few quotations from leading authorities will show why. The Government, in whose opinion war is still a valid instrument, have not to my mind published anything to date which would invalidate the following statement which appears in

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# BEHIND THE PROBLEM OF FORMOSA



## ROOTS OF THE SOLUTION

By WILFRED WELLOCK

**T**HE roots of the Formosa problem lie deep in the social history of China.

Before the first world war the cancerous outgrowths of corruption produced many upheavals and revolutions and soon afterwards effected the downfall of the reigning dynasty and the establishment of a Republic, the first President of which was Dr. Sun Yat Sen. Many reforms followed, but they failed to remove the source of the trouble.

When Dr. Sun Yat Sen died in 1925, he was followed as leader of the Kuomintang party by Chiang Kai-shek, who made many promises and was generally held to be an upright man. But he was altogether too weak to eradicate the corruption which was the besetting sin of the Old Order.

It was in this socially weakening situation that Chiang Kai-shek had to meet the Japanese invasion during World War II, and at the same time the most formidable Communist revolution that had yet taken place.

I vividly recall the world situation at that time. With the exception of a powerful reactionary party in the United States and small pockets of opposition in Britain and elsewhere, the world in general expressed no surprise at the incidence and progress of this revolution. It was widely recognised that nothing short of a root and branch revolution could remove the Chinese mountain of traditional evils and make way for the play of a new spirit and a wider vision.

Corruption was throttling the national being, and it was increasingly felt, and accepted almost universally, that however

dangerous Communism might be, it was likely to overthrow the old order of things.

### MISTAKE

**T**HE weakness of Chiang was revealed when the United States, bewildered by the fact that the enormous sums of money she was pouring into China achieved such meagre results, commissioned General Marshall to investigate the Chinese situation on the spot. His report was to the effect that American Aid was going down the old drains, whence he made recommendations to reduce and control the flow.

But America's fear of Communism was too strong to enable her to take this advice except to a very limited extent. So the situation went from bad to worse.

That fatal mistake has bedevilled America's China policy ever since, and is now carrying mankind to the brink of a new world war.

Moreover, this basic fact is indisputable, that the 600,000,000 people of China will never bow to the rule of Chiang Kai-shek and the crude, corrupt reaction he represents. That the United States Government can believe that this could happen, or that she should want it to happen, surpasses understanding. Another indisputable fact is that there is no alternative to Communist rule in China for many years ahead, if at all, however much we may dislike Communism. In these matters we are confronting the bitter fruitage of unrequited evil history.

### TRANSFORMATION

**W**HAT, then, is to be done?

First, we must change our attitude to Communism to one of tolerance, recog-

nising that in both China and Russia tyranny and reaction were so deeply entrenched that only a root and branch revolution could save the situation, and that failing the emergence of a spiritual leader of the order of Gandhi, something in the nature of Communism was inevitable.

The real problem today is how to transform revolutionary Communism into the Communism of a free and peaceful society. The Western States, Britain and America especially, should aim at finding a basis on which Russia and China could in peace and without fear re-cast their social order to the pattern of a free society. By this I do not mean the pattern of capitalism, especially American capitalism, but a social and economic order in which the State would wither away, and in which they profess to believe.

God forbid that Western democracy should be considered the last word in democracy building. India, e.g., first under the leadership of Gandhi, and now of Vinoba Bhave, is fashioning a type of democracy which, if it succeeds, will outshine ours. Is it certain that Russia and China may not also do this in due course?

### BARGAIN

**W**HAT is to prevent Britain and America making a frank and open bargain with Russia and China to live and let live, and to help each other to realise their own concept of an ideal society, the conditions and way of life which by their merits others would want to copy, and indeed would copy in certain directions as time passed?

This new attitude would involve immediate large-scale disarmament, conceding China's right to a seat in the UN and to her off-shore islands, and submitting the future of Formosa to friendly discussion within or without the UN.

But let us remember that personal liberty is the acid and the final test of a social system, and thus that the removal of obstacles to achieve that liberty should be our chief concern.

If we accept the thesis that the appalling consequences of using nuclear weapons makes their use immoral, then, logically, we must abandon all idea of opposing military force with military force.

### Mutilating the future

Now we come to our obligations towards the population as a whole. We have indeed arrived at the most important consideration of all—the question of consent.

It should by now be clear that any attempt to defend the population with nuclear weapons is no defence and would result in the population being largely destroyed. It may be argued that if a country wishes to commit suicide it should be free to do so.

**What cannot justly be argued is that a people has the right to murder and mutilate its descendants—which is what nuclear warfare, and even nuclear tests, means.**

In the past the results of war have, broadly speaking, been borne by those who made it. The peoples, by and large gave their consent to war as such. The results of any future war will be borne by people who cannot possibly give their consent for they will not be born when the war is fought. Generation upon generation, for hundreds of years to come, will be born blind, deaf mutes, idiots, deformed and diseased as a result of *our* decision to settle our differences by resort to nuclear warfare.

### An alternative defence

In my opinion no ideological or other difference can justify the paying of this price; no one of us is entitled to condemn future generations, *without their consent, which can never be obtained*, to such appalling suffering and sacrifice.

To sum up: War is no longer an acceptable method of settling international disputes because (i) it is impossible for total war to achieve its object, i.e., to defend our country; and because (ii) total war is morally wrong.

In conclusion, I would say that we must give our support to, and learn from, those who are studying alternative methods of defence, i.e., methods of non-violence; we must co-ordinate our efforts, cutting across political, and even national, frontiers; and we must disarm and render harmless those who are at present steering the destinies of ourselves and of our descendants at an incredible speed towards certain destruction.



# DIARY

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon.-a.m.
2. Include Date **TOWN, Time, Place** (hall street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

## Friday, October 10

**CHIPPENHAM:** 7.30 p.m. Town Hall. Rev. Noel Calvin, Antoinette Pirie. CND.

**LEEDS:** 7.30 p.m. Emmanuel Church. Joint Service with the FoR and MPF. APF.

**ORPINGTON:** 8 p.m. Village Hall, High St., "Any Questions?" Alma Birk, Nigel Calder, Martin Dakin, Dr. Duncan Leys, Rev. Francis Noble, Orpington CND.

**PLYMOUTH:** 7.30 p.m. Methodist Central Hall. Public Meeting. Benn Levy, Col. Geoffrey Taylor, Michael Foot, Rev. John Molland, Mrs. Alan Gibson. Chair: L. S. Pawley. CND.

**UPMINSTER:** 8 p.m. St. Mary's Lane (nr. Bell) "A visit to Germany," Syd Booker. Hornchurch Way to Peace Group.

**WEMBLEY:** 8 p.m. Copland Sch. Dr. Peter Astbury, Michael Howard, Nicholas Malleson. CND.

## Saturday October 11

**SMETHWICK:** 6 p.m. St. Stephen's Church Hall. Rededication Service followed by films. FoR.

## Sunday, October 12

**CHELMSFORD:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Public Mtg. "Is Nuclear Disarmament enough for the Christian?" Fred Moorhouse. SoF and FoR.

**LONDON, W.C.1:** 3.30 p.m. Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Sufi Service of Universal Worship. Discourse: U Maung Maung Ji, MA.

## Monday, October 13

**BIRMINGHAM:** 8 p.m. 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Les Malloves on the Summer School at Borth and Stan Bray on the IVS Work Camp at Penn. PPU.

**EDINBURGH:** 10.15 a.m. Courtroom 5, Parliament Sq., High St. CO Appellate Tribunal.

**GODALMING:** Court Room. Francis Jude. CND.

**LONDON, S.W.1:** 10.30 a.m. and 2.15 p.m. Ebury Bridge Ho., Ebury Bridge Rd. CO Appellate Tribunal.

**SHIPLEY:** 7.30 p.m. Labour Party Rooms, Westgate. PPU.

**SOUTHAMPTON:** 7.30 p.m., 4 Kings Park Rd. Percy Pitman "The International Situation." PPU.

**ST. ALBANS:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Upper Lattimore Rd., Stuart Morris: Visit to Russia. PPU.

**TWICKENHAM:** 8 p.m. York Ho., Sir Richard Acland, Dr. Winifred de Kok, Rev. Hatton. CND.

## Tuesday, October 14

**CLAPHAM:** 7.45 p.m. Manor St. Baths. Brains Trust. Jacquetta Hawkes, Nigel Calder, Stuart Hall, Dr. Berkovitch. CND.

**REIGATE:** 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Service of Rededication. Reigate and Redhill FoR.

## Wednesday, October 15

**LONDON, E.17:** 8 p.m. Wood St. Cong. Ch., Vallentin Rd., United Service, Max Parker, "Peacemakers Visit Russia" Service conducted by Rev. P. Lee-Baptist, BA. FoR.

**LONDON, N.9:** 8 p.m. Church Parlour, Independent Church, Knights Lane. Stuart Morris Visit to Russia. Edmonton PPU.

**LOUGHTON:** 8 p.m. Union Church, High Rd., Muriel Lester "Confronted by China." FoR.

**PUDSEY:** 7.30 p.m. Manor Hall, Robin Lane. Dr. Miller, John Braine, Mr. A. H. Hanson. CND.

## Thursday, October 16

**ALTON:** 7.45 p.m. "Hillcrest," Windmill Hill. "A Non-Violent Society" David Lee. PPU.

**LIVERPOOL:** 7.45 p.m. Friends Htg. Ho., Hunter St., Central PPU Group Mtg.

**LONDON, E.11:** 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Leytonstone. Sid Parker "A Case for Anarchism." PPU.

**PALMERS GREEN, N.13:** 8 p.m. 33 Devonshire Rd., Stuart Morris "My recent visit to Russia." PPU.

**REDHILL:** 8 p.m. Colman's Institute, Dr. Alex Comfort. Film. Reigate and Redhill CND.

# PN readers have their say

## Pacifism and Hitler

**SYBIL MORRISON** and I agree on the main point: that in a society in which values were such that pacifism took its place among them, Hitler would not occur; and that if this nation had been such a society in 1920 the advent of Hitler in Germany would have been much less likely. I also agree that such a change in society would be a revolutionary one. Where we do not appear to be in complete agreement is how this change is to be brought about.

I do not believe that such a society can be brought about simply by the renunciation of force. I believe that one reason why pacifism has not so far established itself in society as a whole is its tendency to pre-occupation with the renunciation of force: often to the exclusion of a precise relation of our decisions and actions in life to a basic ethical image of man and society. The renunciation of force is one of the "real problems" in the construction of such an image. This is because ultimately force is not in keeping with our aspirations in trying to follow this image, and because it is unrealistic not to be true to our aspirations.

To this extent I absolutely agree that pacifism is realistic.

It is realistic, though, in terms of the ideal image, of which renunciation of force

## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

is only one of the characteristics. My questions ("What do people want, why, how," etc.) were not intended to be rhetorical, but to stimulate the answers which are needed for the construction of the sets of values which the new society must have.

—We could take as an example which illustrates a number of "real problems" the situation of a worker at Aldermaston. He is paid high rates and perhaps for the first time in his life he is able to support his family in comfort with enough to spare for a bit of fun and something still to put by. Here is his immediate motive in working there.

He has probably never thought out why he does things or whether any of his actions are incompatible with some of his ideas or

his wife and child, or for his neighbour? How can he come to identify himself with the rest of humanity? This is a question Sybil Morrison, and all of us, must answer.

I did not say that pacifism will not work. But I suspect that so long as it is only an appeal to renunciation of force, it will not. The question is not whether pacifists are realists, but how to make non-pacifists more realistic.—**THOMAS OSBORN** 4 Thomas Road, Fulbourn, Nr. Cambridge.

**IT** is with considerable sympathy, though not with full agreement, that I have read Thomas Osborn's letter (PN, Sept. 19). I would only ask him to reserve a bit of judgment himself and not be so certain that non-violent resistance would have been completely hopeless against a Hitler régime.

For example, is it not possible that active resistance by German Jews *might*, in the early years of the Nazi régime, have served both as a focal point to resistance by Germans in general and have prodded them into more active resistance during the crucial period in which the régime was establishing itself and destroying centres of opposition?

But we all must admit that there is no simple or easy solution to such terrifying problems.

I must agree, that the time is past—if it ever existed—when the cause of peace can be genuinely served by an extremely dogmatic type of pacifism which assumes that the only—or at least the most important—way to end war, tyranny and injustice lies in the mathematical accumulation of individuals prepared to "renounce war" on a personal level. Social solutions are also required for what are essentially social problems.—**GENE SHARP**, Bekkelagsveien 15B, Oslo II B, Norway.

## Party politics and pacifism

**HARDENING** of the heart has long been recognised as something inimical to pacifism but hardening of the mental muscles is an equal danger which it is often not so easy to identify.

Party politics, for instance, seem to be degenerating into an alibi for non-thinking. The Labour Party chairman talks about Tories as "the Herrenvolk," blandly ignoring the exclusiveness of certain trade unions complete with their colour bars, etc.

PEACE NEWS—October 10, 1958—7

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**LATEST TIME** for copy: Monday morning. Whilst the policy of Peace News is not to restrict any concern or individual from advertising in these columns, it must be noted that we do not necessarily share the views nor the opinions of all our advertisers.

## MEETINGS

**RACE RELATIONS:** Ten Fortnightly Univ. Extension Lectures by Miss J. E. Wicken, M.A., begin 7 p.m. Monday, Oct. 13. Fee 15s. Theosophical Socy., 50 Gloucester Pl., London, W.1.

**SCREEN VIEWERS PANEL.** Discussion. Anti-Nazi "Holiday on Sylt" banned by TV & film censors. Tues. Oct. 14. 7.45 p.m. U.L.R., 7 Carlisle St., W.1. All welcome 2s. 6d.

## HOLIDAY ACCOMMODATION

A TWO-ROOM FLATLET (suitable for single person) is available at our Headquarters in Bath. Please write for particulars to our Secretary: Margaret Flint, The Vedanta Movement, 13 Elsenham St., Southfields, London, S. W. 18.

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**INTRODUCTIONS.** FRIENDSHIP or marriage; home and overseas. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell Rd., London, S.W.11.

**SOCIALIST CHRISTIAN**, sight failing, needs companion help or married couple share work and interests, some cooking. Apply Elsworth, 37 Aldwick Rd., Bognor Regis.

**TWO ITALIAN PACIFISTS** just beginning to learn English urgently require employment in Britain. Willing to undertake anything. Employer must be prepared to obtain Working Permit. For further details telephone LABurnum 3977, or write to War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.

**WAR RESISTERS'** International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

## LITERATURE

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamail, \$10 airmail, a year from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

**QUAKERISM.** Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

## FOR SALE

PEACE DIARY for 1959 now available, with 32 page World Directory of Peace Organisations and Periodicals. 3s. 6d. (postage 4d.) from Endsleigh Cards, (45, New Rd., N.1).



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REDHILL: 8 p.m. Colman's Institute. Dr. Alex Comfort. Film. Reigate and Redhill CND.

WALTHAMSTOW: Assembly Hall, Forest Rd., "Christianity and the Nuclear Dilemma" Francis Jude, Dr. J. L. W. L. Boag. Walthamstow Free Ch. Choun.

#### Friday, October 17

LONDON, N.13.: 8 p.m. Bowes Park Methodist Church, Bowes Road, Arlo Tatum, Sec. WRI, "A Minority Voice in Totalitarian Countries." Methodist Peace Fellowship.

LONDON, W.8.: 10.30 a.m. and 1. 15 p.m. Kensington Town Hall, High St. C.O. Tribunal.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m. Parkshot Rooms. Brains Trust. Mr. H. Martin, David Ennals, Counc. K. Morell, Rev. L. Temple Jarvis, Dr. D. K. Butt. CND.

STAFFORD: 7.15 p.m. Borough Hall. Debate. Frank Allaun, MP, and Rev. Peter Vowles versus Major Hugh Fraser MP, Rev. Peter Wilde, CND.

WYTHENSHAW: 7.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Wythenshawe Rd., Stuart Morris on his visit to Russia. PPU.

#### Saturday, October 18

LEEDS: Yorks. Annual CO Re-union. 3 p.m., AGM NE Reg. Board. 4.30 p.m. Open mtg. "The CO Dormant in Modern Society?" 5.30 p.m. Tea.

LIVERPOOL: 3 p.m. Hope St. Church Hall (rear of Philharmonic Hall). Area Mtg. 5 p.m. Stuart Morris on his visit to Russia. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 3.5 p.m. Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St., "Goodwill on the Air" Recordings by H. G. Ede, PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 6.30 p.m. Room 31 Kingsway Hall, Kingsway. Leslie Hayman "Round the World to Friendship House." Col. Slides.

#### Saturday and Sunday, October 18 and 19

DROGHEDA: The Drogheda Grammar School, Ireland. "Reconciliation in Ireland" Conference. Org. by the FoR in conjunction with the Irish Pacifist Movement. Details from D. P. Barritt, Hill Cottage, Ballycairn, Lisburn, Co. Down.

#### Sunday, October 19

BLACKBURN: 2.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Stuart Morris "Talking Peace in Russia." PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1.: 2.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Conference for prospective conscientious objectors. Arthur Goss, Bryan Reed (Sec., Central Board for CO's). Tea provided. SoF.

#### Monday, October 20

LONDON, W.C.1.: 6 p.m. 6 Endsleigh St., Speaker on Current Affairs. Central London PPU.

#### Wednesday, October 22

BEXLEYHEATH: 8 p.m. Methodist Church Hall, Broadway. D. Martin Dakin, Dr. Duncan Leys, Mervyn Jones. Chair: Rev. Gordon Jones. CND.

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## Every week!

### SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

### TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

### WEDNESDAYS

LONDON, N.4: 7 p.m. Peace News Office, 3 Blackstock Rd. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

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to stimulate the answers which are needed for the construction of the sets of values which the new society must have.

—We could take as an example which illustrates a number of "real problems" the situation of a worker at Aldermaston. He is paid high rates and perhaps for the first time in his life he is able to support his family in comfort with enough to spare for a bit of fun and something still to put by. Here is his immediate motive in working there.

He has probably never thought out why he does things or whether any of his actions are incompatible with some of his ideas or feelings. He has probably never read any history (and if he has he is almost certainly not equipped to distinguish fact from fiction). He has heard only dim reports of concentration camps and leukaemia, and, in any case he probably finds difficulty in imagining anything outside his immediate range of experience. He has been brought up on the idea that to be a man he must defend his rights with force. His only contact with an ethical view of life is the church—but some of the "experts" say force is justified, others claim it is not. What motive could he have for giving up such work?

Even if I knew the answer to this question, it is *he* who must discover it. How can we convince him that his work there is inconsistent, for instance, with his love for

## NOTEBOOK

### Coming to Europe

RUSSELL JOHNSON, Peace Education Secretary for New England for the American Friends Service Committee, will be coming to Europe next summer with his wife and three children, ages 15, 12 and 11. He will be available to speak to peace groups, if early bookings are made by writing to him at: P.O. Box 247, 130 Brattle Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

In addition to launching the air-mail edition of Peace News in the United States, Russell has been in at the beginning of many significant American peace activities, particularly their counterpart to the British Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He has also been on the inside of much of the activity in connection with American race relations problems. In short, he is the perfect guide to "the other America."

The Editor

blems.—GENE SHARP, Bekkelagveien 15B, Oslo II B, Norway.

### Party politics and pacifism

HARDENING of the heart has long been recognised as something inimical to pacifism but hardening of the mental muscles is an equal danger which it is often not so easy to identify.

Party politics, for instance, seem to be degenerating into an alibi for non-thinking. The Labour Party chairman talks about Tories as "the Herrenvolk," blandly ignoring the exclusiveness of certain trade unions complete with their colour bars, etc.

Innocent over-emphasis? Maybe, but at the same time we read official censure of Barbara Castle in which no consideration is given to the truth or otherwise of her report of brutalities by British soldiers in Cyprus, but in which indignation is expressed concerning the possibility of loss of votes for the Party.

The pacifist, in fact, must now be prepared to face the unpopularity of opposing the rigidity of party politics; for one thing is certain—peace does not come before taking thought but after it. If the emotionally defended hardening of mental muscles can be transcended, it becomes clear that some problems in our modern world need (say) an anarchist solution, others a Labour, others a Tory, etc. The pacifist once again must attempt to pioneer the way for such tolerance which is constant rethinking.—OSWELL BLAKESTON, London, N.W.3.

### 'Waging Peace'

IN a passage printed by you in heavy type Sir Richard Acland writes: "We have tried for years to negotiate disarmament, but is there any chance of taking the first steps unless something else has already begun to change the mood of the world?" This very change has long been the aim of all pacifists, of the Toldas Group, and of many others, but may I remind you also of one "bold step" that has been taken already? We have among us a small but rapidly growing Peace Nation, a self-governing people, as described by its founder, Dr. Hugh J. Schonfield, "which has no homeland of its own and no force at its disposal." World Citizens, indeed, are pledged to take no part in war or in the preparation for war. The Commonwealth exists for the service of mankind. In the Progress Report just sent out we find that Citizens from 40 countries are represented.

—G. M. FAULDING, Bexhill-on-Sea.

TWO ITALIAN PACIFISTS just beginning to learn English urgently require employment in Britain. Willing to undertake anything. Employer must be prepared to obtain Working Permit. For further details telephone LABurnum 3977, or write to War Resisters' International, 88 Park Avenue, Enfield, Middx.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, 88 Park Ave., Enfield, Middx.

### LITERATURE

"LIBERTE," the French pacifist weekly. 36s. a year, 20s. 6 months. (US \$5 seamount, \$10 airmail, a year) from Housemans (Peace News bookshop), 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to Friends' Home Service Ctee., Friends House, Euston Rd., London N.W.1.

### FOR SALE

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### BRITISH PEACE COMMITTEE

### Eve of Parliament Re-Assembly

## PEACE RALLY

St. Pancras Town Hall

EUSTON ROAD, N.W.1.

Wednesday, Oct. 22

7.30 p.m.

### CONFERENCE FOR CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

A conference for young men of 16 and over who are considering standing as Conscientious Objectors will be held on Sunday, 19th October, 1958, at Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1, from 2.30 to 5.30 p.m. Speakers: Arthur Goss and Bryan Reed (Secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors). Discussions and questions. Tea will be provided. Young women also welcome. Conscriptio is still with us and the call-up to continue into 1960 and will also affect those whose deferments expire before then.





1,163 Oct. 10, 1958 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

## SCARBOROUGH DIARY

● FROM  
PAGE ONE

# MR. BEVAN AND THE BOMB

## Quaker lions in Daniel's den

### WHAT THE VIEWER DID NOT SEE

Peace News Reporter

**NON-SYMPATHISERS** with the pacifist viewpoint seem to have been favourably impressed by the arguments put forward in last Friday's BBC Television Programme, "Daniel in the Lion's Den."

The 15 pacifists who were challenged by General Sir Brian Horrocks, former British Army G-o-C, have, however, been criticised by pacifist viewers for failing to answer such hardy annuals as "You are sheltering behind the armed forces who give you the peace in which you can work."

Asked to comment on these criticisms, Eric Tucker, Secretary of the Friends Peace Committee, and one of those taking part in the programme, told Peace News on Tuesday:

"One thing that has to be said in fairness to the team—and I think the team would be more critical of itself than any of its critics—is that the technical arrangements made a coherent discussion extremely difficult."

### SERIES OF HEADINGS

"No body viewing the programme could know that, and I don't blame the BBC for it. They were not, of course, looking at the programme in terms of its value as a discussion of pacifism; they were looking at it in terms of its value as an entertainment."

"They were most anxious that the discussion should not continue just along one line. They felt that the discussion must touch on a variety of aspects of the general problem and they prepared, with our agreement, a series of headings: 'The threat of totalitarianism,' 'The H-bomb,' 'Positive peace making,' and so on. These were to be put on large cards and be raised at the back of the stage by the Chairman."

Why, I don't know. Mr. Gaitskell had made an effective speech with a rousing peroration about the ideals of democratic socialism. But what does it all add up to? So far as I have been able to follow the debate "Plan for Progress" is a plan for a streamlined capitalism, without being very specific even

boring in any way. The chairman was then to switch the conversation.

"In actual fact, they flashed these things up almost continuously. And I felt that we were never really able to come to grips with one particular issue."

"When the General said 'You are sheltering behind the armed forces who give you the peace in which you can work,' several of us put up our hands, wanting to answer, but before we could do so the conversation was switched in another direction."

"The pacifist viewer, of course, was in no position to know that."

Footnote: "Appeasement" was one of the questions discussed by a TV Brains Trust panel which included Vera Brittain, Chairman of Peace News Board, and Mrs. Pandit, on Sunday. A heavy mail has followed, Vera Brittain told Peace News on Tuesday.

### Briefly

Victor Yates, MP, will be speaking on "Consequences of Nuclear Disarmament" at a public meeting to be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Park Lane, Croydon, on Friday, October 17, at 8 p.m., organised by the Croydon & District Branch of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom.

"Is Nuclear Disarmament enough for the Christian?" is the title of a talk to be given by Fred Morgan to the Chelmsford

about the means to be employed.

**Evening:** The Tribune meeting. Donald Soper, Michael Foot, Jennie Lee and Aneurin Bevan are the speakers. What, we all wonder, is Mr. Bevan going to say, particularly about the bomb. Donald Soper opens, speaking at his best and fastest. Socialism and mass violence are not reconcilable is his theme.

A reference to Gandhi and the Aldermaston picket in which he had taken part brings much applause from the audience.

Mr. Bevan begins his speech dramatically. The time is short he tells us. He then goes on to much applause to say that if the Labour Party abandons its socialist principles there is no point in it winning the next election. But next he is talking about the inevitable compromises of leadership and the need for leaders not to go too far ahead of the electorate. Isn't there a contradiction here somewhere?

Mr. Bevan states his belief that public ownership is the basis of socialism. What then has he got to say about his position in a party which for the last few years has been admitting that nationalisation is a dirty word? Or is this then another of those inevitable compromises of leadership?

It looks as if Mr. Bevan is going to avoid saying anything about the bomb, when Michael Randle, Peace News Sales Organiser, who has stationed himself near the door in order to be able to sell PN, calls out: "What about the bomb?" There is a stir of excitement. But Mr. Bevan will not bite. He is going to talk about the bomb to-morrow, he says.

### Long awaited debate

**Thursday:** The long-awaited debate on foreign affairs. Mr. Bevan opens. The policy he advocates is sensible enough. But his conception of foreign policy is strange for a so-called left-winger. He stresses the need for patient negotiation and talks about the need to realise that we are dealing with deep-rooted human prejudices. It's the sort of speech that any intelligent Tory Foreign Secretary would make. As Emrys Hughes points out later in the debate, Mr. Bevan is now so statesmanlike that he reminds him of Mr. Anthony Eden.

it is in opposition, can't commit itself on nuclear weapons because it doesn't know enough. This is about the oldest and most depressing way of evading the issue in politics.

John Horner, the Secretary of the Fire Brigades Union, makes a good speech proposing the resolution for unilateral renunciation. As the debate continues, it is clear that most of the constituency delegates are against the bomb.

Mr. George Brown talks about the need to have tactical nuclear weapons to use against concentration of troops. He gets plenty of opposition from the audience. But is he still Labour's shadow defence minister?

Mr. Gaitskell, winding up the debate, makes some effective points against the supporters of unilateral abandonment of the bomb. Do they want us to give up our bomb and shelter behind the American one, he asks. Or do they want to go all the way and get out of NATO? This is obviously smoothing the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament needs to think about.

### Get out of NATO?

If we get out of NATO, says Mr. Gaitskell, we are leaving the way for Germany to be its leading power. The point is aimed at the feelings of the left wing of the party. Early in the week Mr. Gaitskell has referred to Mr. Macmillan's nauseating hypocrisy over the use of force in the Quemoy-Matsu conflict. Isn't Mr. Gaitskell's reference to Germany just as hypocritical coming from a man who had supported German rearmament and who was so keen to expel the six Labour MPs who voted against it?

Mr. Gaitskell dwells on the other points of Labour's foreign policy. Again they sound very sensible. But will Mr. Gaitskell carry out the policy if he gets into office? His throwing over of Barbara Castle the previous week and the refusal of the Labour Party to vote against American intervention in the Lebanon makes one very doubtful.

When the voting figures are announced the motion for the unilateral abandonment of the bomb is defeated by 5,000,000 odd



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"Is Nuclear Disarmament enough for the Christian?" is the title of a talk to be given by Fred Moorhouse to Chelmsford Quakers in their Meeting House on Sunday, Oct. 12.

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## Long awaited debate

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When he deals with the bomb Mr. Bevan is really evasive. The Labour Party, because

Germany just as hypocritical coming from a man who had supported German rearmament and who was so keen to expel the six Labour MPs who voted against it?

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When the voting figures are announced the motion for the unilateral abandonment of the bomb is defeated by 5,000,000 odd votes to 800,000 odd. It's what we expected.

**At least the unilateral vote has increased by 100,000 since the last Conference.**

**THE** outburst of horror from all quarters because two British women have been attacked, and one killed, in Cyprus, is extremely understandable, but nevertheless most strangely out of date.

The day has long gone past when women were considered sacrosanct, and war was a man's province only. The strategy of war today is designed to slaughter women and children as well as men; when British and American pilots flew their aeroplanes to obliterate German cities, there was no one to shout that women must be spared.

There is a war in Cyprus, and war is an indiscriminate and brutal affair. If the British Government chooses to risk the lives, not only of British soldiers, but also their wives and children, they are doing it because they refuse to recognise the fact that whatever Lord Hailsham, or the Daily Telegraph, or anyone else may say, force is not the way to preserve peace.

To whatever extent women are now involved in wholesale air attack in war, so far

### UNIVERSAL CENTRE AND PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Sufi Service

3.30 p.m. SUNDAY, Oct 12

Friends International Centre

32 Tavistock Square, Euston

Discourse U Maung Maung Ji, M.A.

"Spiritual Liberation through Meditation"

**Leslie Hayman from Friendship House** invites all peace lovers to meet him in Room 31, Kingsway Hall, London, W.C., at 6.30 p.m. on **Saturday, October 18**

Coloured pictures News from Germany

—By Sybil Morrison

## The failure of force

*... our view is that great powers should not endeavour to secure their diplomatic aims by violence. They are entitled, however, to use force to put an end to violence. ... Peace will not be won by pacifism, nor by selling justice for a quiet life.*

—Viscount Hailsham, Conservative Party Chairman, September 29, 1958  
*Provided that every possible measure is taken to protect British women and children in Cyprus, their continued presence there is a symbol of faith in our ability to restore peace in the island.*

—Daily Telegraph, October 6, 1958.

they have not been permitted to accompany their husbands on to the battlefield; and if Cyprus is not today a battlefield then the English language has no meaning.

The facile manner in which Lord Hailsham claims the right to use force against violence, as though these two words meant something completely different from each other, is nothing more than an announcement of his belief in war.

The men who ruthlessly shot at two women in Famagusta used violence; the soldiers who rounded up, "interrogated," and assaulted Cypriots, who may not have been in the least responsible, used violence of a blind and unreasoning kind, quite equal to those who fired the shots. Violence in fact begets violence, and peace is not either preserved, or restored by these acts.

The emotions aroused are in essence violent; the words that are used are in essence provocative, for if "terrorism" were to be called "resistance movement" the whole picture would immediately be completely changed.

When Greece was under German occupation the hills around Athens blazed out in huge white stone the word OCHI, meaning

No. To carry these stones, and create this word of defiance, was fraught with danger, but the Greek resistance movement contained in it men and women of immense courage, who not only secretly defied the invaders, but used violence against them whenever possible. For this they were praised and extolled by British people.

Lord Hailsham says "peace will not be won by pacifism," as though he believed that in fact it had been won by war; if he thinks so, he must surely be discounting Cyprus, Korea, Malaya, and all the violence and counter-violence that has been going on all over the world since the so-called victory over Germany.

The Daily Telegraph thinks it a good idea for women to remain on the battlefield in case it should be thought that Lord Hailsham is wrong, and after all peace cannot be restored by the use of force.

It is possible that most women of commonsense, let alone any moral standards would rather not be used as a symbol of the utterly futile and abortive idea that force is the panacea against violence.

Neither violence, no force, has been a substitute for a peaceful settlement in

Cyprus, and since pacifism has not been tried by either side it is impossible for Lord Hailsham, or anyone else, to contend that it would be ineffective. The Cypriots are not pacifists; if they had been, it is not impossible that their struggle to determine their own political destiny might by now have been won, even against the might of the British Army.

The British Government, however, might have achieved an equally tremendous moral victory if they had abandoned the idea of force to compel a settlement that is against the will of the people, and withdrawn their armies. Force has failed; it is time that pacifism was tried.

### 'PACIFISM IN THE COLD WAR' PPU WEEK-END SCHOOL at WORTHING

Friends Meeting House, 34 Mill Rd.,  
1st/2nd November

Saturday, 3 p.m. Non-Violence

Sybil Morrison

6.30 p.m. Political Policy

Allen Skinner

Sunday, 2 p.m. The PPU

Myrtle Solomon

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